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lived, the same kind of life as commoners, observing the same taboos, working at the same tasks, eating the same food, and living in the same kind of huts. To this last statement there is one exception. The hut in which lives the chief wife of the head of the *tsunaun* lineage, who is usually herself *tsunaun*, has an extension in front of it, roofed, and walled at the sides but open in front, and provided with the usual platform. This is called the 'eye' of the house. Here is kept the slit-gong belonging to the *tsunaun*, which is beaten on ceremonial occasions as well as for dances. Here the older men of the village will sometimes congregate to talk, while the boys and younger men use the front of the men's house for that purpose. Except on certain ceremonial occasions, women are not allowed there, as it is only an extension of the *tagoan*, or men's verandah, of the ordinary houses. This extension makes the house the longest in the village. Its interior is no different from that of other houses. The houses occupied by other members of the *tsunaun* lineage do not differ at all, either inside or out, from those of commoners. There is no distinctive dress or attached ornament peculiar to *tsunaun*, but some of the cicatrized patterns may not be cut upon commoners.

So far as I can ascertain, the prestige of a *tsunaun* was never directly a matter of the possession of property. He is not expected to give large feasts at his own expense. If the group is concerned in an important ceremony, for which much food must be provided, he will contribute as much as possible, but the others must bring their own contributions as well. He does, as a rule, own more strings of ceremonial currency than most people can boast of, either handed down on the death of former *tsunaun* or received as payment for favours shown. But he needs more than a commoner to provide for the marriage payments of the young men of his lineage, who, being themselves *tsunaun*, should marry women equal to them in position.

A *tsunaun* usually has several wives, but that is not in itself a sign of rank, since commoners may also have as many as they wish and can provide for. He will, however, usually be betrothed to at least two while still a mere boy, whereas the commoner is probably betrothed in youth to one only, pleasing himself as to any subsequent marriages. It is usual for the first wife of a man who is *tsunaun* to be herself *tsunaun*, belonging to another village, and usually to another clan. His other wives may, if he so desires, be

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584 visit. The girl meets the party outside her mother-in-law's hut, and they all go inside it by the women's entrance, except the girl's mother, who must remain outside on the women's verandah. The boy enters the hut by the men's entrance. His mother is already inside. All the women wear their hoods; the girl must also have a hood, though in the ordinary way she does not need to wear one at this age. A hood is put on the head of the boy. The assembled company all sit down in the hut and chew the betel-mixture. The boy's mother cooks taro for her guests, and provides coco-nuts, but no pig-meat. The time for eating pig has not come yet. When they have all eaten as much as they wish, the boy takes off the hood he has been wearing, but the girl keeps hers on. The girl's mother must not come into the hut at all, she sits outside on the women's verandah and is given her share of food and areca-nut there. Presently they begin to talk about going home. All the women who came with the girl's mother on the visit are given coco-nuts and taro and areca-nuts to take back with them.

The girl stays behind with her husband's mother, who must keep her however bitterly she may cry. She stays for one or two or three months. If she is a very little girl she generally stays quietly, but an older girl often frets for her mother, and if her village is near enough she not infrequently runs away home. (Tagoal ran away to Ruri several times.) If this happens, the girl's mother must take ceremonial pudding (*menak*) and bring it with the girl back to her mother-in-law. At the end of this visit the girl goes back to her mother and lives with her for some time, the duration of which apparently varies with the girl's development and at the discretion of her mother.

• 583 When the girl's mother thinks it is time for the ceremonial currency to be handed over (usually when her daughter's breasts are just beginning to enlarge, but sometimes earlier than this), she prepares a large quantity of food, fish, opossum, coco-nuts, taro, *menak*, and also pig. She must not ask in words for the currency, but she sends a message to the boy's mother that she is cooking, and soon after a crowd of men and women from the girl's village come to the boy's village, bringing the food that has been prepared. The food is brought to the boy's mother's house, and when she sees the pig-meat among the other things, she knows that she is expected to produce the currency soon. The people who have brought the food stay awhile in her hut, and she must

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provide them with taro and *menak*, &c. When they have eaten, they go back to the girl's village.

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kōbū* (receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary ceremonial currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is generally her brother, the boy's *tsoa*, but if he cannot produce enough a similar *kōbū* containing food is sent to other male relatives until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kōbū* cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the food, but must send the *kōbū* back with its contents untouched. If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount.

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal, Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the natives of about 5*s*. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's marriage amounted to about £52 10*s*. For a commoner a usual amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*.

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But

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583 suppose they never did?' they seemed to think that in such a case the match would be declared off, but no one had ever heard of such a thing happening. As there is a considerable number of people who can be applied to for contributions, such a contingency, if it does occur, is probably rare.

When she has collected enough currency the boy's mother sends word to the girl's mother and fixes a time to go and pay it, some days ahead. A man goes to take this message; apparently any man who is willing to undertake the journey may do so. The girl's mother prepares a feast, which must include pig. If the girl is a commoner there need not be much pig-meat, but for a girl *tsunaun* many pigs must be provided.

[824] The boy's mother and her brother, and also the boy's father, count up the strings of *imun*, and rub the teeth with the cut stalks [531] of the plant *ruruṗari* to clean them. They rub fresh *oin* over the strings that hold the teeth together, and put the *imun* into a pot with more *oin*. When the cleaning is finished, the slit-gong is beaten as many times as there are strings of currency, both *imun* and *beroan*. This is done the day before the visit of payment is made.

583 The next day the boy's mother, accompanied by many of the 276 people of her village, goes to the girl's village. They do not go right up to it at first, but sit down beside the path near the village and wait. Meanwhile, the girl's mother skins a large quantity of areca-nuts and fills up a *kōbū* with them, she pours powdered lime over them and puts pepper-stick on top of them. Then she puts into the *kōbū* one string of *imun* and one string of *beroan*, which she must give to the boy's mother and mother's brother. This is said to be 'to pay for the boy'.

[602] Then those relatives of the girl who will henceforward stand to the man in the relation of *tauwō* (i.e. her brothers, both blood and classificatory), go and carry the *kōbū* full of areca-nuts to the people who are waiting on the road. All those who will henceforward be *waris* to the boy (his wife's parents, and all those to whom she applies the same relationship terms) remain in the hut belonging to the girl's mother; they all put on hoods—even the men must put on the women's hoods for a short time. They stay in the hut until the *tauwō* come back with the *kōbū*, from which the boy's relatives have taken out the *imun* and *beroan* and as many of the areca-nuts as they require. If there are a number in the party they may take them all.

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PLATE 6

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a. DISPLAYING CEREMONIAL CURRENCY FOR A BRIDE
b. NEARER VIEW OF THE CURRENCY DISPLAYED

[FACING p. 86]

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When the boy's mother sees that they have all had as much as they wish, she tells the boy's father and his *tsoa* (mother's brother) to go to the village. All the women come up, yelling as they do at a *hitua*, and enter the village, and go to the men's verandah (*tagoan*) of the girl's mother's hut. A man selected for the purpose by the girl's *tsoa*, who must not do it himself, receives from the visitors the ceremonial currency they have brought, stands on the platform of the *tagoan*, and hangs up the strings of *imun* from the roof of the hut. Or this may be done at the hut of the girl's *tsoa* instead of her mother's hut. This procedure is followed in the case of a *tsusaun* only. If the girl is a commoner the *imun* is not hung up, but is merely laid with the *beroan* on the *tagoan*, and no ornaments or paint are put on the girl. This was the case in a ceremony which I saw, and shall now describe.

On this occasion, I went with a party from Kurtatchi to Ananki, a village a few miles to the east, to witness the handing over of the ceremonial currency in respect of a girl's marriage to a boy of Musang, another village farther along the road. We took with us some packets of ceremonial pudding, which we gave to our hosts on our arrival. For a long time every one sat about on various verandahs, chatting and chewing the betel-mixture, the girl not being visible. Finally she came out of the hut in which she had been living with her mother's sister (both her parents were dead). She was quite a little girl, whose breasts had hardly yet begun to swell. The people from Musang took her off with them without any great show of farewells. Her brother told me she did not want to go and had been crying all the morning. After they had gone, the ceremonial currency they had brought was spread out on the verandah of the hut. There were four strings of *imun* and six of *bevoun* (Pl. 6). After it had been inspected by everybody, it was distributed among the girl's relatives. Matēv, one of our party from Kurtatchi, the bride's father's *wevuē* ('sister'), was allotted two, one of which she said was intended for her brother. She was given her choice, but contented herself with taking two strings of *bevoun*, although they are much less valuable than *imun*, saying she was ashamed to take the *imun* from the relatives with whom the girl had been living, her mother's people. How far this was customary, and how far it was due to Matēv's generosity, I do not know. As soon as she had put the strings into her basket, we took our departure, and I have no information as to how the remaining

[i.e., of betel-nut-nut. — Analyst]

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583 strings were shared. This occasion was comparatively devoid of ceremony, because the girl was a commoner.

583 565 [302] [614] Up to the time when the strings of *imun* are hung up from the roof of the hut, a girl who is *tsunaun* must remain inside. Her mother has painted her hair with red and black paint (*oin* and *tʃina*), in alternate stripes. If she belongs to the clan Naboin the paint is put on in many narrow stripes, to represent a *sui*, a kind of sea-urchin. If she belongs to the clan Nakarib she has a broad black stripe on each side of her head and a red one in the centre. I could get no explanation of the difference in the patterns, except that they 'belonged to' the respective clans. The *sui* is not a totem. *Beroan* and *imun* belonging to her own people are put on her wrists, and her *ruanbē* (husband's mother) or some one chosen by her, usually the girl's *tauvē* (husband's sister) puts more paint on her hair, on the top of the *usbog* pattern that had previously been put on, so that her head is heavy with paint. Then the *imun* and *beroan* are taken off her wrists and given back to her mother. The strings of currency which were hung up over the *tagoan* are taken down, and all the guests, both men and women, go into the hut, and eat the food that has been provided by the girl's mother. When all have eaten their fill, they go outside, except the boy's mother, who remains inside, looking for a chance to give to the girl's mother a string of *imun* and one of *beroan* which she kept back for the purpose, when the rest of the currency was hung up at the *tagoan*. This is for the girl's mother personally. She does not get any of the strings which were hung up, they go to the girl's *tsoa* and other relatives on both sides of the house. The boy's mother must give these personal strings to the girl's mother secretly, when no one is looking. When she has done so, the two mothers join the rest of the party outside the hut, and all the guests are given food to take back with them in the *kōbū* they have brought on purpose. They get taro, 'possum, pig, *mwak*, all in large quantities.

583 565 482 The girl must now go back with her husband's people. But if she is *tsunaun* she is not allowed to walk, so a man who belongs to the same clan as her husband takes her up pick-a-back. If she is small and light she is carried thus all the way to her husband's village, but if she is heavy she is carried only for a short distance outside her own village and then set down. So she comes to the boy's village, and there she must now remain. Once the currency has been handed over, she cannot go back to her mother any more

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except for a visit. Whenever she does this, her mother must always make some *menak* and bring it back with the girl, whom she must escort in person.

After one of these visits to her mother a further ceremonial gift is made by the girl's mother to the boy's people. On her return she is accompanied by a number of women from her own village, bringing *menak* and taro, both cooked and raw. A few men accompany them, carrying a pig, which must be alive. Some ceremonial currency is also brought; the amount varies and is apparently immaterial. In the two cases personally known to me, for Tchawawan two fathoms of *imun* and one of *beroan*, for Tagoal one of *imun* and one of *beroan* were brought.[1] On this occasion the girl and the women who accompany her come round to the front of the boy's mother's hut and go in by the men's entrance (*tagoan*), never used by women in the ordinary way. The pig is brought as payment for the privilege of using the front part of the house. If no pig were forthcoming, whenever the boy's mother was angry with the girl she would taunt her with it, saying: 'Why does this woman sit down in my *tagoan*? What did you bring me? Your people did not bring me a pig to eat, you have not paid for my *tagoan*.' That is why they bring a pig. If it were not done, the wife could not go into the front portion of the hut, and she would not be allowed to perform certain personal services for her husband, such as cutting his hair and putting paint on it in preparation for ceremonies or dancing. Tagoal remained with Kiram's people for four weeks after this ceremony.

During the next few years the girl spends much of her time with her husband's people, living in her mother-in-law's hut, and working for her. But if the boy is still wearing the *upi* she must not speak to him, though she may do him small services. The boy's mother says to her: 'Do not be shy of your husband. If I am not here when he asks for taro, you go and give it to him.' (A boy wearing the *upi* is allowed to come to the door of his mother's hut to fetch the taro she has cooked for him, but he may not enter it.) In the case of a girl married to a man who already has a wife and a hut of his own, she lives in his hut and helps his other wife, but the marriage is never consummated during this period. Takon,

[1] The strings of *beroan* worn by Tagoal in the photograph (Pl. 7a) were all taken off before her relatives went home, and put on a much smaller girl in the party, who wore them back to Ruri.

[Cat. 116, Facing p. 87. - Author]

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583 595 the young wife of Wasē, aged perhaps ten (Pl. 7*b*), was thus living in Wasē's hut at the time of my residence.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

585 No further ceremony takes place until the girl has 'grown big'. Some people wait until she has menstruated for the first time before they hold the feast at which she is given to her husband, sometimes it is held before she has menstruated, in which case the husband does not wait for this to happen before consummating the marriage.

585 285 When the time for this feast is getting near, all the women *kōma* (dance and yell, see p. 414). At first they *kōma* without feasting for several nights. They prepare baskets to hold the food to be [386] used in the ceremony. These are made of a kind of rattan cane dyed red (*riri*). The coastal people are obliged to buy this red cane [438] from the people of the mountains, who alone know the secret of the dye. The baskets are trimmed with *berōan* round the edges, and trade beads are hung over them. Before they had any trade beads they used dogs' teeth for this purpose. The baskets are also trimmed with all sorts of aromatic plants and leaves. The boy's mother makes one basket, the girl's mother makes another. The general name for these baskets is *seban*; the special name for baskets made by the people of the Nakarib clan is *kuwir* or *kuwirtsun*, for those of the Naboin clan *popalat*. When the baskets are finished, all the women come with them and hang them up on the branch of a tree, then the women take bows and arrows, paddles, axes, &c., and jump about (*sani*) waving them, and the slit-gong is beaten.

585 When the time for the feast is close at hand, the basket made by the boy's mother is taken down and put in her hut. The girl's people come and fetch it, bringing in exchange the basket made by the girl's mother. This is a sign that the girl's mother has enough pigs and other food for the marriage ceremony. They take back the basket made by the boy's mother, which remains for a while at the house of the girl's mother, and the women of the girl's village go through the same performance with the bows and arrows and paddles.

[417] Meanwhile, the people of the boy's village have been making a platform (*tiwan*) out of split areca-palm trunks. The men make it in the bush, and leave it on the road close to the village. The women of the village go, singing, and ornament it with flowers and

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Occasion	*Transactions*
584 2. First visit of mother of boy to mother of girl. Soon after 1.	Aromatic plants brought by mother of boy to decorate girl. Betel-mixture chewed.
3. Visit of boy's mother to take back girl for her first visit. When girl is about 7 or 8 years old.	Paint for head of girl brought by boy's mother. Betel-mixture chewed.
4. Visit of girl's mother to see her daughter in mother-in-law's hut, 3 or 4 days after 3.	Food and areca-nut provided by boy's mother for girl's mother and accompanying women. No pig given at this stage.
Girl remains with mother-in-law for a month or more.	If she runs away, her mother must make *menak* for the boy's mother and must bring her back.
●583 5. Request for handing over of ceremonial currency. At discretion of girl's mother, but usually at first signs of breast development.	Girl's mother sends food, including pig-meat, to boy's mother, the pig being a hint that it is time to produce the currency.
6. Boy's mother collects ceremonial currency from her brother and other male relatives.	Boy's mother sends pieces of pig to relatives who are expected to help provide the currency.
7. Visit of boy's people to girl's people to hand over currency, and to bring back girl for long visit. As soon as enough currency has been collected.	Agreed amount of ceremonial currency handed over for division among the girl's relatives. One string given as personal gift, secretly, by boy's mother to girl's mother. One string given by girl's mother to boy's relatives 'to pay for the boy'.
8. During the next few years girl spends much time with her mother-in-law, returning to her mother only for occasional visits.	
9. Special visit of girl and her relatives to boy's mother to pay for *tagoan*. Sometime during 8.	Girl's mother and relatives bring *menak* and a live pig to boy's relatives, and small amount of ceremonial currency.

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Occasion.	*Transactions.*
10. Marriage ceremony. Usually not until boy has taken off *upi* and girl has been through her first menstruation ceremony.	Exchange of ceremonial baskets of taro. Much food given by bride's mother to bridegroom's relatives.

585

MARRIAGE PAYMENTS

583

It is recommended in *Notes and Queries* (1929 ed., p. 101) that the investigator should 'employ the native term in describing or referring to payments or gifts made by the groom or his group to the father or group of the bride'. Among the people of North Bougainville there would appear to be no special designation for this transaction. Since it always takes the form of strings of *imun* or *beroan*, which I have described as 'ceremonial currency' (for reasons given in Chapter XII), I have used this phrase in connexion with the marriage payments, supplementing it, where the context seemed to render this advisable, by the words 'handed over in respect of a wife'. This is, admittedly, clumsy, but it states exactly what takes place, without begging the question of its significance, while none of the more convenient expressions proposed in the extensive correspondence that has been going on over this matter seems to be entirely without objection. (See *Man*, 1929–33, *passim*.)

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In the area with which this book is concerned, neither the ritual nor the social aspects of the situation seem to be considered of importance. The currency which changes hands is definitely not a symbolical token marking 'the sealing of a contract', nor is it an 'indemnity' or 'payment of compensation to a group that loses a member'. The many discussions I had with the natives, both men and women, leave me in no doubt whatever that they do, actually, regard it as a financial transaction exactly on the same lines as any other purchase, but of more importance than most, the use of ceremonial currency being confined to very special occasions (see Chap. XII, pp. 446–9). Nowadays, actual coin sometimes changes hands instead of strings of shell disks and teeth. One father of my acquaintance demanded £10 in shillings for his daughter, which her suitor thought was too dear! The word for the handing over of the currency, *wen*, is the same as that which is used for 'pay' in speaking of any commercial transaction involving ordinary buying and selling (which in this community is usually performed through the medium of barter). In speaking of illicit

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In speaking of illicit

583 intercourse with another man's wife, they use the expression *gun*
[837] *amot*, which is fairly translatable by 'steal' and is applied also to acts of theft in the ordinary sense in which we use that term. It is, of course, dangerous to rely too much on linguistic evidence, but
[684] it is noteworthy that to 'steal' a man's wife and to steal his ceremonial currency were once bracketed together, by a man with whom I was discussing the subject of theft, as crimes belonging to the same category, and that in some cases the same penalty has been exacted for both. All the people with whom I discussed the matter in relation to marriage gave me the impression that no distinction existed in their minds between paying for a wife and paying for anything else of importance.

586 The rules governing the operation of the custom are entirely compatible with this view. If the woman refuses to perform the duties of a wife, her husband can, and does, divorce her and demand his currency back—he is not receiving what he paid for so he repudiates the purchase. But if she has cause to divorce him, he does not get his currency returned to him, the break-down of the transaction was not her fault. If she dies without giving
768 him a child, he will expect to be repaid, unless he receives a sister
587 in her place. Pinari told me that the currency handed over in respect of Riro, the wife of his son Wasē, who had died, childless, not very long before my visit, would be returned, except one string, which was to be retained by her relatives 'because her body stays here', the woman having been buried at Kurtatchi. I have not seen a similar custom recorded elsewhere. If her death
845 occurs in child-birth, and the child lives, repayment is made in
768 part only, one string being retained 'for the child'. But if the child dies too, the full amount is usually asked and given. For a wife dying after having borne more than one child, no repayment is expected—the husband has had his money's worth, so to speak.

562 It does not follow that the woman is regarded as the absolute
581 property of the man to do as he likes with. That is definitely not the case. What seems to me to be the crucial point was put very clearly by a woman, Matēv, on our way back from witnessing this very transaction, when the matter was naturally the subject of conversation. She said:

'Tab to wen nor a kiki pi mon.'
Thing pay we genitals of woman.

i.e. 'What we pay for is the woman's genitals.' That is to say,

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though he did not know why. Her relatives would not consent to the match, they said her husband might want her back. As it was near the end of my period of residence, I did not hear whether anything further was done in the matter. In another case, in which all the principals were personally known to me, that of Kakari's marriage to Muben, the match was suggested by Muben's *tsoa* (actually the mother's mother's sister's son, but equivalent to the mother's brother). He lived at Kurtatchi, but actually belonged to Baniu, where Muben's mother lived. He was very ambitious, and clearly wanted the marriage because it allied him to the most important family in the district. That is to say, while the initiative usually rests with the boy's family, it may, on occasion, be taken by some relative of the bride's. Again, Pinari, who liked to exercise his authority, saw to it that he had a say in the case of betrothals of any of the young people in his village, even of those not closely related to him, and as he was *tsunaun tsan*, deference was paid to his views.

The betrothal is not absolutely binding until the ceremonial currency has been handed over by the boy's people. This may be done while the girl is still quite small, but it is not necessary, or usual, to do so until her breasts begin to develop. Once arranged, a betrothal is seldom broken, even before the currency has changed hands, and to break it after that is a serious matter. A case came to my notice where a man fell in love with a girl who was already betrothed, and eventually ran away with her. Although the ceremonial exchanges connected with the prospective marriage had not been completed, the affair was regarded as a serious breach of customary rule, but it was finally settled by a payment of ceremonial currency from the lover to the girl's affianced husband. The couple have been living very happily together for several years. They have one child, a boy about a year old, whom both adore. It seems to be a genuine love match, a somewhat rare occurrence among these people.

At the time of betrothal, the boy may be considerably older than the girl, and may have finished his puberty ceremonies and taken off the *upi*, or he may be only slightly older and continue to wear the *upi* for several years subsequently. All except the youngest boys wearing the *upi* at Kurtatchi were already betrothed. The marriage is never consummated till the puberty ceremonies are finished and the *upi* removed, and usually not until the girl has

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equivalents, others to crack nuts, or as weights, &c. The people know very well what they are, though I do not think any one now living has actually used them. They affect to despise their forefathers for using such awkward tools, but they admit that they themselves could not do with stone axes the work their forefathers did.

The only legend of origin in my collection referring to these stone implements comes from Saposa, where it is said that Morena gave them to the people when she taught the other crafts, teaching them at the same time to make more for themselves, and to make them also of the shells of the small clam and the giant clam.

The most typical shapes can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 63). The usual material is of a volcanic nature, such as is to be obtained in the centre of the island. They are called simply by the generic word for 'stone', *rako* in the Petats dialect and *wats* or *watʃ* in the Kurtatchi dialect; sometimes *wats pa ta kana*—'stone of times past'. I do not know of any special names applied to the different shapes, but as these differences have no longer any significance probably any such names as once existed are now forgotten.

At Petats I saw a few specimens of stone pestles (*akon*) similar to the larger of the two examples figured by Parkinson (1907, p. 498, Fig. 79). These are still used for cracking almonds, but the people say that they are too lazy to make them nowadays, but use any heavy stone instead.

I saw no hafted stone implements in Buka or North Bougainville, but in the Kunua mountain district of west-central Bougainville some are still to be seen, hafted with cane like those figured by Parkinson on p. 501 (Fig. 81). They are still valued by the people of the interior and form part of the ceremonial payments made in respect of a wife. When not required they are kept carefully wrapped up in fibre tied round with native string and packed away in the rafters or other place of safe-keeping.

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1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was told that there was one man living on a small island off the west coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour, and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom (about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of 5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated with a value in terms of shillings.

Beroan is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions. Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage.
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits.
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *maris* as sign of grief.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Some occasions for the use of imun

1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.
Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner.
1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos.
1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband.
1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'.
Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*.
Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack.

DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.[1] With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart,

[1] It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *kōbū*.

the animal world do not exist: they are taken solely from the bird world. 171 64 616

Since children inherit their mother's clan symbol, it follows that, if they are girls, they belong to a clan whose members the father can marry and can theoretically be married by him. In practice we find this in Buka and northern Bougainville; there it is not rare that the father is married to his own daughter and has children by her. This is not regarded as forbidden; but a union of two people who have the same clan symbol is considered a crime. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the very same view prevails, but its practice is not so general as in the north. A similar arrangement probably also exists in the other Solomon Islands. I conclude this from a statement of Woodford in his book Among the head-hunters, p. 40 ff. It says there: "It came to my knowledge that an extensive and widespread system of 'castes' or totems exists upon this and some of the adjacent islands. The name of them on Guadalcanar and upon Gela or Florida is Kema, upon Savo Ravu. At Veisali, at the west end of Guadalcanar, the word used is Kua . . . . The natives told me that man might not marry a woman belonging to his own caste . . . . [7] Of these castes the largest and most powerful is the Gambata." He then also mentions the castes Kiki, Lakoli, Kakau, and Tanakindi. [582 835]

The native acquires wives in various ways. In part he steals them from a neighboring tribe and marries them if the clan symbol allows it; if not, he sells the stolen woman to a native whose symbol allows him to marry her. In by far the most cases, however, he barters for his wife. As medium of exchange he makes use of the current money varieties. In Buka a wife costs from four to six fathoms of white shell money (hēruanne) or two to four lengths of tooth money (baĩĩu and rāki). On the islands of the Bougainville Strait a wife costs from five to ten fathoms of white shell money (pālassale) or one to two fathoms of red shell money (mismis). On the mainland of south Bougainville the same two types of money are used as media of exchange, but in addition one called mānei, which is made on Shortland and serves especially for the trade dealings of the islanders with the mountain people. The latter uses as a medium of exchange exclusively the mānei imported from the Shortland Islands; they call it aputa. This money has substantially less value; one needs twenty to thirty fathoms 583 436 583 171

in order to acquire a wife. Abducted wives are married only in Buka and north Bougainville, but not in the southern regions of the island; it seems that all prisoners are killed there.

At a normal wedding, as far as I could ascertain, there are no further ceremonies. When the purchase is concluded, the man takes the bought woman home with him, and the wife's relatives give a present consisting of cooked food. After about a week the purchaser and his relatives reciprocate. At special weddings, however, certain festivities take place. In European museums one rather frequently finds objects from Buka and north Bougainville that are commonly called "dance clubs." Some of these are illustrated for example in Edge-Partington, Volume I, pages 244 and 245 (with the incorrect heading: "New Britain Archipelago"); Volume II, page 125 (the note to 3 is based on an error). Furthermore, in Schmeltz and Krause, Catalogue of the Museum of Godeffroy, Plate VI, Figures 3 and 3a. Also the dance club from Treasury Island that is depicted in Guppy's work unquestionably diffused from the north. These dance clubs are correctly named, but they are used only for specific ceremonies. If a chieftain gives his daughter to a native in marriage, great festivities are arranged. The participants fashion clubs of this sort, which are called kaisa and vary greatly according to the taste and the skill of the maker. Most frequently the flat clubs have a broad blade that is painted black, white and red, and are ornamented with the characteristic grotesque human figure or only with its head at the upper end. Other dance clubs are shaped like a lancet, in imitation of war clubs, and have triangular or diamond shaped figures that are painted red, white or black on a black or white background. As a rule they are all made of soft wood that is easy to work, but now and then you find them made out of palm wood or some other heavy hardwood. The wedding guests hold the clubs in their hands; groups of dancers surround the couple, sometimes both, sometimes just one of them, and the clubs are alternately held up in the air or stuck in the ground in a circle around the central figure. After a number of different figures have been executed, they throw away the kaisa, or the boys and youths pick them up and sell them to passing ships for a song. For this reason one can occasionally get hold of hundreds of these dance objects in that region without difficulty, whereas at other times it is impossible to acquire even a single one despite the most tempting offer.

When a woman's husband dies in Buka and north Bougainville, she returns to her parents, if they are still alive, or to her closest relatives;